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ABSTRACT

This issue of "Media & Values" explores the growing influence of mass media and how that influence is concentrated in the hands of a few powerful individuals or corporations. The essays present various interpretations of that influence and the implications for the world. Articles include: (1) "All Power to the Conglomerate" (Stewart Hoover); (2) "Exported Images: Boon or Invasion?" (J. Richard Munro; Tom Englehardt); (3) "Out of Africa!" (Ezekiel Makunike); (4) "Guidelines for Process Reporting"; (5) "Disaster Pornography from Somalia" (Rakiya Omaar, Alex de Waal); (6) "The Paradox of Communication" (Phil Harris); (7) "Communicating for Justice"; (8) "Brave New World" (Howard Frederick); (9) "Listen to the Beat of World Music" (Barbara Osborn); (10) "Resources for a Global Village"; and (11) "Media Are the World" (Elizabeth Thoman). (EH)

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Number 61

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GLOBAL COMMUNICATION: *For the Powerful or the People?*

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All Power to the Conglomerate p. 2

Bottom Line Dreams p. 8

Out of Africa p. 10

Listen to the Beat of World Music p. 21



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In addition to publishing *Media&Values*, the Center creates educational curriculum materials for local use, organizes forums and conferences, and maintains an information and resource center on the media issues of our time. Funding for the Center comes from subscriptions and memberships along with individual donations, foundation grants and organizational co-sponsorships.

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ALL POWER TO THE CONGLOMERATE

*If Information Is a Commodity,
What Price Is International Understanding?*

By Stewart M. Hoover

On October 4, 1957, a rocket took off from an isolated plain near an obscure village in Siberia. Called Sputnik, its unexpected successful penetration of the earth's orbit created a furor in a Western world that feared its advent heralded a Soviet "victory" in the Cold War.

An even more important, yet less heralded, launching took place five years later. Telstar, the pioneer communication satellite, became the first of a swarm of orbiting satellites that power our present worldwide communications network.

Of the two events, our ever-growing ability to forge worldwide connections—and profits—has the greatest impact on the increasingly interdependent world we live in today. As the Cold War fades from view and new relationships emerge, one thing becomes clear: problems and issues from the environment to militarism, ethnic disputes and social unrest now take place in a global, rather than a local or national, context.

More than anything else, this sense of global relationship is a result of international media, a pattern of interconnection whose growth seems to be accelerating faster and faster.

Considered an impossible dream only a few years ago, Cable News Network (CNN) has become a network the whole world watches, a worldwide source of images and sound bites. Whether the subject is a war in the Persian Gulf, starvation in Somalia or an election in the United States, television

and film viewers the world over watch the same stories and pictures, newspaper and magazine readers often digest the same basic news wire accounts and, in many cases, consumers even react to the same advertising pitches. In this sense, we do live

dia will enable us to live and act as though we were actually in contact with people the world over, and that a new, positive, democratic future of global understanding—person to person—will ultimately emerge.

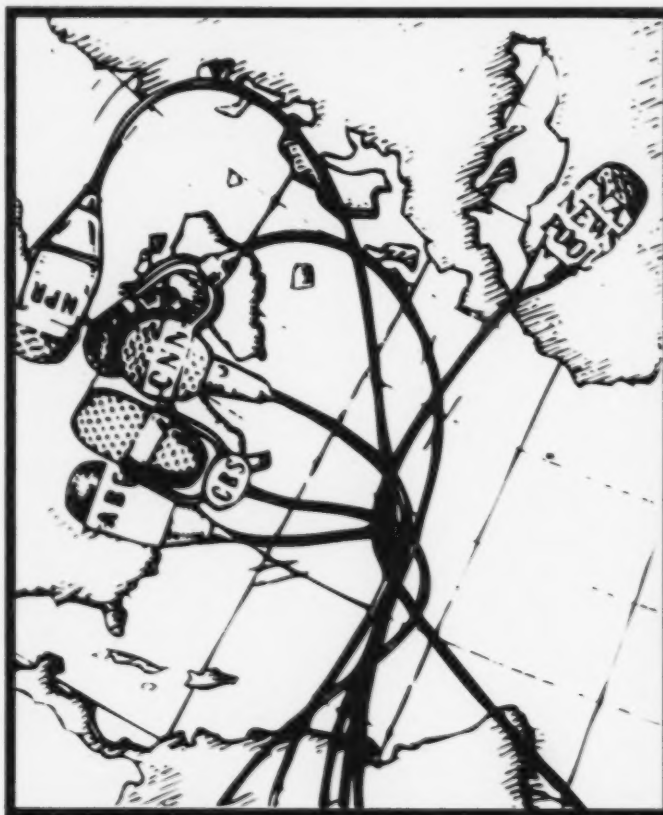
Such an idealistic vision of a media-centered world is attractive.

We want very much to believe that the technologies of the media, with their powerful potential to transcend distance and time, can help bind the world together. The concept of Spaceship Earth has achieved important status in our thinking ever since pictures of our home planet, floating in space, were relayed from the Apollo moon missions in the late 1960s. This view of the earth as a unified physical body has become an icon of the new "global consciousness" of the 1980s and '90s. The possibility that the media might help create the understanding we crave allows us to hope that we can create a cultural unity to match the beauty of this planet.

This is a powerful and persuasive idea. Emerging at the same time that sociologists such as Daniel Bell are describing our society as "post industrial," and others are suggesting that we now live in an "information society," this

new role for the media finds the technology of communication at the center of economic and political as well as social and cultural worlds.

In countries from Central Europe to South Asia, media are looked to as potential builders of civic culture—the forum through



MEREDITH YASUI

in a "global village," and, primarily, it is a village defined by the media.

For decades, observers such as Marshall McLuhan predicted that these global boroughs would gradually come to resemble real neighborhoods. The more optimistic among them have maintained that the me-

which diverse ethnic and cultural groups can achieve understanding. At the same time, on continents from North America to East Asia, media are important industries, gradually replacing outdated sectors of the economic sphere as we move into a mediated future. Can media be both things? Can

1978: "We can sum up by saying that in the communication industry there are a relatively small number of predominant corporations which integrate all aspects of production and distribution, which are based in the leading developed countries and which have become transnational in their opera-

"It is quite possible that by the 1990s a half-dozen large corporations will own all the most powerful media outlets in the U.S."

Ben Bagdikian, *The Media Monopoly*, 1987

they simultaneously serve the interests of community and human understanding, and promote the interests of commercial and economic development?

These are not new questions. Representatives of the Third World began to question the global role of media decades ago. As described elsewhere in this issue, formal discussions of the conflict between media freedoms and responsibilities were initiated by Asian, African and Latin American countries—called the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)—and taken on as a project by United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Years of often acrimonious debate focused on whether the media, as then organized, could serve the interests of global understanding.

Many Voices

Implicit in these discussions (called the "New World Order in Communication") was the idea that communicators, in order to authentically contribute to cultural and social understanding, must first serve social and cultural development. That is, before nations and peoples could enter into global dialogue, they first needed the resources, skills and opportunity to enter that dialogue more or less as equals.

Principal voices in the debate pointed out that severe imbalances in the distribution of global information resources and expertise often resulted not in a global village of equals, but a global oligarchy of rulers (the nations and institutions of the North) and subjects (the nations and institutions of the South).

A commission of UNESCO impaneled to study this problem under the leadership of Irish statesman Sean MacBride made this assessment of the situation as early as

tions." In the decades since, growth and consolidation of these conglomerates has only accelerated; they are larger and their reach has become greater than ever.

The report of the MacBride Commission, as it was often called, went on to note that, not surprisingly, this corporate dominance favored the objectives of commercial profit over social and cultural development.

In the early 1990s, nearly 15 years after this commission issued its report, the imbalance between the players remains much the same, but developments in technology and political changes have made major changes in the playing field.

Emerging Roles

In a post-Cold War world that emphasizes independent development, the need for widespread involvement in communication is greater than ever. Media's role in educating, informing and connecting individuals and peoples can be of crucial importance, often influencing decisions to go to war or make peace. In today's "information age," access to media, and the ability to manipulate it, can be a key factor determining poverty or prosperity.

With the old East-West alignments being replaced by more natural regional groupings (and conflicts), the peoples of the South and the newly liberated countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union must be able to shape cultural and informational resources that are their own. Only then can they fulfill the long-held goal of speaking as equals to the peoples of the developed world. The basic needs have not changed, but they have assumed an added urgency.

What has changed dramatically in the past two decades is the structure and management of the media themselves. In successive editions of *The Media Monopoly*, media commentator Ben Bagdikian has documented the accelerating shrinkage of the number of the world's major media companies. As the trend continues, control

Re:Action

Columbus Revisited: A Media Literacy View

Depending on your point of view, Columbus' arrival in the Americas was a heroic venture or the oppressive beginning of centuries of persecution of the indigenous peoples of North and South America.

The many media accounts inspired by the 500-year anniversary, including two recent movies, numerous textbooks and educational videos, featuring differing and even contradictory accounts, further confuse the issue. Media literacy can help. A media-centered analysis can assist in exposing biases, distortions and divergent points of view.

Some activities to illuminate the point of view of a particular "text" include:

- Review each account for clues to its point of view. Is it more sympathetic

to indigenous peoples or Columbus and his crew?

- Imagine the differences if people on the other side had written their version.
- Look for key words such as "discovery," "colonized," "wild," "primitive," "savage," "civilized," etc.
- Pay attention to who gets to speak most often and whom they most often speak about.
- Notice how the various parties are portrayed; handsome or ugly, violent or peaceful, shabby or well dressed, etcetera.

Techniques such as these can be used to analyze any book, movie or video and can help any media consumer become more informed and critical.

—David Ruth, editorial assistant.

of the world's media rests in fewer and fewer hands. Five major corporations now dominate:

- U.S.-based Time-Warner, Inc. was created by the much-heralded 1989 merger of Warner Bros., Inc. and Time, Inc. The resulting union joined Warner Brothers film and television entertainment enterprises with Time, Inc.'s magazines (*Time*, *Sports Illustrated*, and *People*, among oth-

transnational commercial media there as well.

Economic concentration has coincided with government policies of privatization and deregulation around the world. In the late 1970s and earlier, "the public service model" was the norm for many broadcasting organizations. Typified by the BBC, this philosophy of broadcasting holds that radio and television operate primarily as a

media, many people in the developing world were seriously concerned about the impact of these alien images (with their accompanying Western values and social mores) on indigenous cultures.

But the economic logic was not to be denied. Gradually, over the course of the last decade, even British authorities have begun to seriously consider privatizing their media, as it becomes harder and harder to justify public support of an enterprise that could be highly profitable on its own.

In addition, the American philosophy of deregulation has become increasingly popular worldwide. This theory asserts that regulations holding certain media (mainly radio and television broadcasting, cable and television services) to a "public service" standard are no longer necessary because the public's needs for diversity of views and services will be met by the satisfaction of the public wants on a multiplicity of channels in an open marketplace.

The assumption that the public's "needs" and "wants" are the same sounds good, until we consider that the "marketplace model" ignores the likelihood that citizens determining the future of a democracy may "need" to be exposed to cultural products they do not "want" (because they may not consider serious commentary on news and public affairs entertaining and might not seek it out on their own). Ratings and profits should not be the only shapers of social dis-

The communications revolution is jolting the peasants of the developing countries out of ruts of tradition and making them aware that their poverty and oppression need not be.

Charlotte Waterlow, *The Futurist*

ers), book publishing, cable television and recording enterprises.

- Bertelsmann of Germany controls holdings in recording (BMG Music and RCA Records), publishing (Bantam Doubleday Dell) and satellite television.

- The Australian-British News Corporation, Ltd., the farflung media network of Rupert Murdoch, controls the single largest newspaper circulation in the world—14 million readers daily in Britain, Australia and North America. Other bastions of Murdoch's empire include the British news service, Reuters, and publications such as the *Financial Times* and the *Economist*, plus European satellite and cable channels.

- Hachette, S.A., a French multimedia conglomerate, publishes magazines such as *Car and Driver*, *Woman's Day*, *Home*, and *Elle* in France and books in the U.S. and elsewhere, and also owns television and radio operations in Europe.

- The other major U.S. player, Capital Cities/ABC Inc. is a newspaper and broadcasting conglomerate. (Not incidentally, the 1986 purchase of American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) by Capital Cities began a major shift in U.S. media ownership that transformed many formerly independent information and entertainment entities into mere cogs in giant corporate wheels.)

Other scholars have shown that such concentration of control is also taking place on less global levels, with regional media conglomerates emerging in Asia, the Pacific and other parts of the Americas. In addition, the end of state media monopolies in Eastern Europe has opened avenues for

public service, that they have a unique role in educating and uplifting the publics which own them.

Until recently, American-style commercial broadcasting (with only a limited responsibility for public service) remained in the minority around the world, as most countries in Europe and former European colonies adopted the public service model when they set up their broadcasting systems. Government ownership of primary media networks (with free speech protections in place at least in democratic countries) was part of this pattern.

This has all begun to change, and the

We want very much to believe that the technologies of the media, with their powerful potential to transcend distance and time, can help bind the world together.

foremost reason for the change is economic.

For decades, the American film industry demonstrated the economic power of marketing entertainment media for export. In the 1960s and '70s, American television programming also began to be sold abroad in large volume. Filmmakers and television production companies soon learned to appreciate the high profitability of foreign distribution. The resulting deluge of American cultural material was, in fact, one of the prime motivations behind international communication debates. In addition to concerns about news and information available via the

course. Of course media programs cannot influence public debate unless they are produced and disseminated.

Another major problem is the likelihood that minority interests will be overridden in the rush to serve majority tastes. On U.S. television, for example, how often have we seen substantive dramas starring nonwhite Americans? How common are political analyses that represent extreme, as well as centrist, shades of opinion? In the international arena, such omissions are even more striking, as groups such as the Kurds and Bosnians fail to register even a blip on the international consciousness until their oppression reaches the level of massacre.

The news media are hardly the only arena for this conflict. The Hollywood film has long dominated worldwide movie-making, but recently local and national film industries have come under increasing pressure from the movie divisions of concentrated global enterprises. For example, the *New York Times* reported in October 1992 that the Indonesian film industry is losing the competition with American-made films for access to movie houses in Indonesia itself. Similar pressures are felt by indigenous film industries elsewhere in Asia and by television producers throughout the world. As a result, local talents are strangled and any hope of a mutual exchange of ideas is buried in a relentless one-way flood of U.S. information and entertainment goods.

Culture As Commodity

Motion picture and music executives have long spoken of records and films as "the product." The concentration and commercialization of today's conglomerates has had an additional, very important consequence. Increasingly, media productions—films, television programs, wire service copy or popular music recordings—are seen as products or commodities to be bought and sold with little or no concern for their cultural content and impact.

In the current round of multilateral trade

negotiations called the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the U.S. and other media-producing countries have made the importance of cultural commodities as export items very clear. The American sentiment seems to be that since we are less and less able to compete in world markets with our manufactured goods, we should continue to dominate in areas where we have always been successful, and media products are one of those areas.

This "commoditization" of media has thus had a very important consequence for the movement toward greater equity in communication resources between the North and the South. Whereas in the 1970s, a country like Indonesia might have moved (and did) to protect its local film industry against devastating foreign competition, in the 1990s such policies can be portrayed by the media powers of the North as restraints on trade, and therefore subject to trade sanctions.

Further, the atmosphere has changed and media and communications enterprises are now viewed very differently. Even countries as small as Barbados have begun to contemplate the notion that television and other media should be operated according to entirely commercial standards, because that is the current global trend.

As demonstrated by such events as the

fall of the Marcos regime in the Philippines, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the spur given by publicity to the worldwide environmental movement, the connections of worldwide media can play a positive as well as a negative role in the struggle for self determination and social, as well as economic, progress.

But on balance, the effect of most of these consumerist trends has been a diminution of global dialogue, of access for marginalized voices, of opportunities for the less powerful and more marginal to articulate their own stories via the emerging global media system.

If we are ever to achieve the healthy relationship of the global village envisioned by McLuhan and others, we must turn back the tide moving toward commercial concentration of world media. Otherwise, the commercial voice will not only be the loudest, but the only voice available. Goals of international understanding and cultural integration cannot be met if the cultures involved lack the means to tell their own stories.

Stewart Hoover is an associate professor of journalism at the University of Colorado/Boulder and a member of the board of directors of the Center for Media and Values.

Native Canadians and the End of Storytelling

Another woman, who identified herself as a school-teacher, said: "When TV came to my village I saw an immediate change. The kids lost all interest in the native language. They only wanted English. But worst of all is that storytelling has stopped cold. Storytelling used to be the main activity at night; all the kids sitting around the old people.... We'd ask our grandparents for the same stories night after night. We loved those stories and they were important. They taught us how to live here. But more than that they conveyed trust and love and admiration between the young and the old. The old people were windows into the past; the way we could see who we are as Indians. It was how the culture was passed on. We used to honor our old people but that's all going now. The generations are sitting all together now, silently watching television. And on TV it seems like being young is all that matters and that the old have nothing to say."



—Author and media critic Jerry Mander. From "In the Absence of the Sacred," quoted in *Whole Earth Review*.

EXPORTED IMAGES: BOON OR INVASION?

The ever-increasing export of American movies, television programs, music and other entertainment and information products (the country's number two export) has created much controversy in the U.S. and abroad. In the excerpts below, J. Richard Munro, chairman of the executive committee and former co-chairman and Co-CEO at one of the world's largest media companies, Time Warner, Inc., argues the benefits of bringing American entertainment around the world. Writer and former Pantheon Books senior editor Tom Engelhardt articulates the concerns of many observers regarding the impact of global, corporate culture created in response to a vision of the world as a global market.

Goodbye to Hollywood: Cultural Imperialism and the New Protectionism

By J. Richard Munro

Hollywood...is a very big business, the U.S.A.'s second largest net export after aerospace, and accounts for \$5.5 billion in foreign revenues.

It should get bigger. And I'll tell you why later. But first let me give you the bad news. Outside the U.S. there are very influential people who want America to stop exporting so many media and entertainment products.

And they're not just talking. They're acting. A growing protectionist sentiment threatens to add new restrictions to those already in place.

South of us, Argentina and Brazil have screen quotas that limit the percentage of foreign products that can be shown in theatres. Brazil also has a home-video quota. Colombia and Ecuador have broadcast quotas.

North of us, Canada restricts foreign investment in publishing, broadcasting and cable television, and puts tight restrictions on film distribution and investment.

To the east, India and South Korea—among others—severely restrict the import of home videos and have screen quotas. In Japan, foreign companies are given no copyright protection on record rentals. They can

be ripped off at will.

Australia puts a 20 percent tax on videocassette distribution and royalties.

Several countries, the Philippines among them, set ceilings on the amount of revenues that foreign countries can remit home.

In Spain, foreigners who wish to obtain a dubbing license must distribute or finance local productions—in effect, subsidize Spanish producers.

French law requires that 60 percent of all television programming be produced by companies within the European economic community and half of this total—or 30 percent—must be by French companies.

In Britain, the independent networks are advised by government regulators that,

*We require no nation, province or individual; to
buy our magazines, watch our TV programs,
attend our movies or listen to our records.*

J. Richard Munro, Time Warner, Inc.

outside of sports and cultural programming, no more than 14 percent of broadcasts should be non-European owned.

Portugal, Greece and Italy all have screen quotas. In Italy, this means that theaters are required by law to show Italian films 25 days per quarter.

Last year the European economic community decided that, starting in 1993, at least 51 percent of all television programming in member nations must be of European origin.

It's ironic, of course, that the free part of the world is busy reinforcing these walls at the same time the hitherto unfree part is ripping its walls down. And to add to that irony, it's happening at a time when technology is rapidly spawning new channels of information and entertainment, multiplying the potential choices consumers have and expanding dramatically the need for quality programming and filmed entertainment.

The explanation that's given for this new and improved protectionism is almost always the same: American cultural imperialism. For some it's become a kind of mantra, conjuring up images of a colossus busy imposing its culture on one

people after another...

But for many people, it is now a given that America is out to rule the airwaves—as well as every other media—and it is precisely because of this insistent distortion of what is really occurring that we must be clear about a few fundamentals.

First, American culture is not an imperialistic export being shoved down the throats of unwilling colonists.

We have neither colonies nor colonists.

Second...no soldier or representative of our government is in the business of being an enforcer for Hollywood. We require no nation, province or individual to buy our magazines, watch our TV programs, attend our movies or listen to our records.

When people buy "Hollywood"—and I use that word in its collective sense—they do so freely, out of their own volition, for the same reason Americans buy imported TVs, VCRs, cameras, watches, shoes and cars: because they want the best value for the best price.

Yet those who perceive that the world's old ways are being overthrown aren't hallucinating. There are radical changes taking place. Culturally and economically, we are being drawn together as never before. But if there is a culprit in this, it isn't America. It's technology...

In the old days, the employees of the ministry of truth had a nice 9 to 5 routine. Keeping out foreign influences required burning a few books, jamming a few radio stations, sending a few critics into internal exile...it was all in a day's work.

But technology played a trick on Big

Brother. Instead of making his job easier, it made it impossible. With cassettes and word processors and satellites and tape players and photocopiers and faxes, the flood of information became unstoppable. And the nations that still tried to stop it could be assured of only one result: The more they walled themselves off, the more they would be doomed to final and total economic obsolescence...

New Capacities

The true magic of the new machines is not so much in the engineering or design of the hardware as in the capabilities and capacities it creates for software. With this software, a free market of the human mind is coming into existence, a market for images, information and entertainment unconstrained by physical frontiers or ideological boundaries. And more often than not, the choices people make involve American software. The medium may be made in Korea or Japan or Taiwan, but the message is made in the U.S.A.

For some, this is nothing more than convincing evidence of the insidious nature of American cultural imperialism. Maybe we don't force people to buy our products, but we seduce them...lure them with glitzy, glittering junk, all of it demonstrating the

American ability to appeal to the lowest common denominator, and to make it irresistible. I reject this premise.

Today the best of America's publications, films, programming and videos are as good or better than those produced by any other country. And we produce more quality products than they can ever hope to. That's why they've been so interested in buying American media and entertainment properties.

But there's another reason besides quality that explains the demand for our products, a deeper cause, an explanation that drives to the heart of so-called American cultural imperialism.

All over the globe people associate the American style with a way of existence that to one degree or another they wish to share in. The freedom they want is the freedom they see embodied in the images and idiom of America—an idiom that is optimistic and democratic, with abiding faith in the ability of people to decide for themselves in small things as well as large.

This speech was originally delivered to Town Hall of California. An edited version is reprinted from Vital Speeches of the Day with permission of the author.

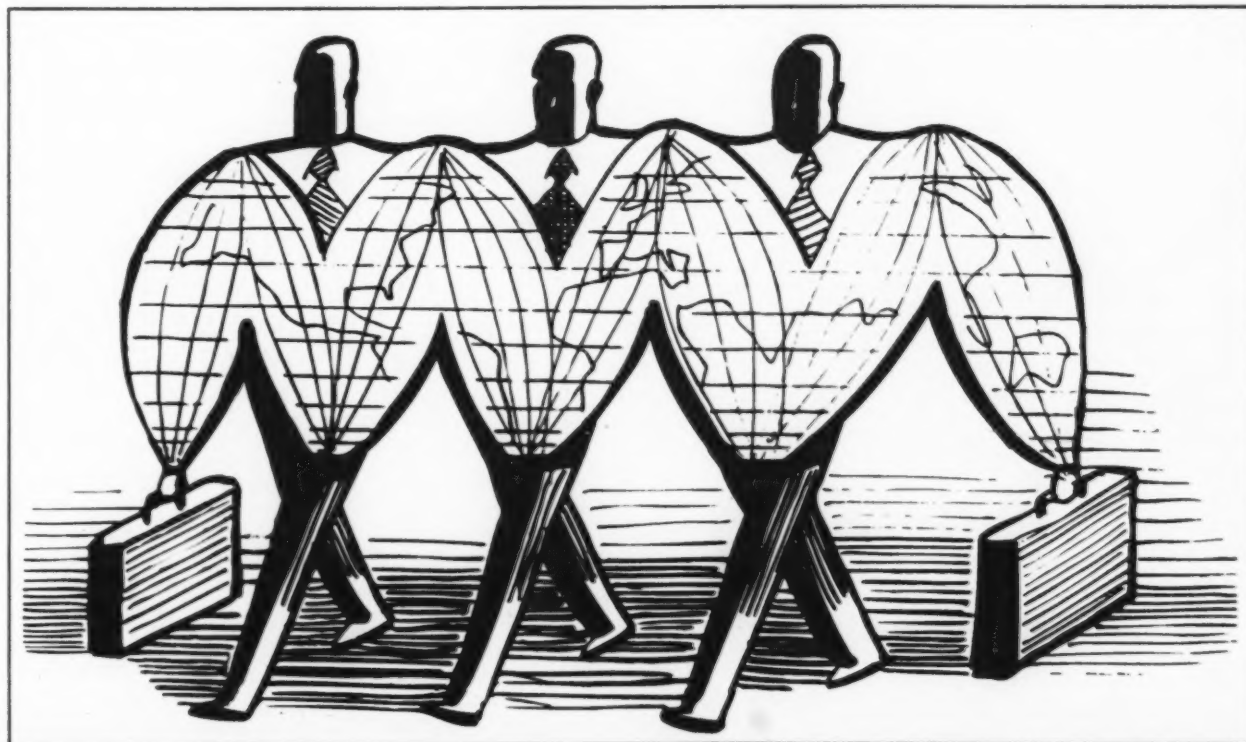


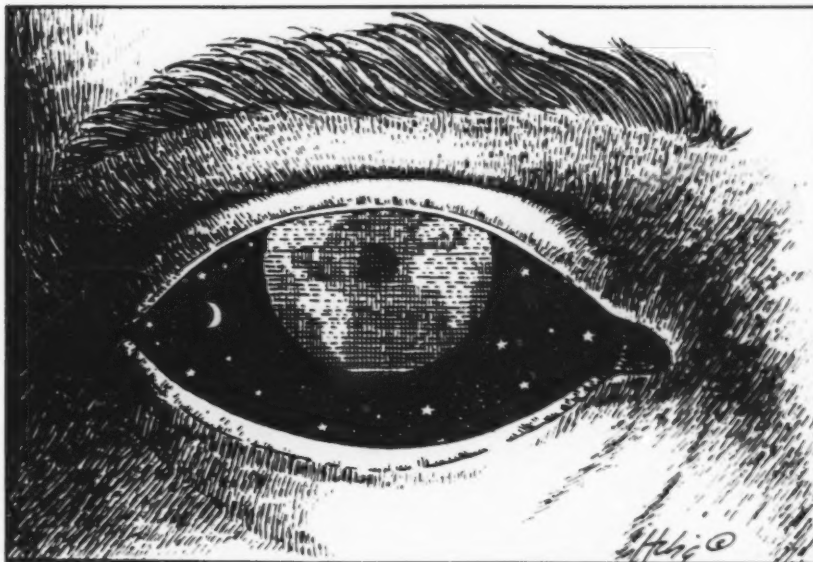
ILLUSTRATION BY DAVID SUTER/THE PROGRESSIVE

Bottom Line Dreams

By Tom Engelhardt

Naming and dreaming. The most adventurous dreams, the most innovative names. In '80s America, these could be found not in journals of dissent, or in the works of an avant-garde of artists and intellectuals, but on the business pages of the daily paper.

In fact, the 1980s were an unkind decade for critical thought and language of any sort. Liberalism gracelessly disintegrated as the decade began, even its truths eliciting channel-flipping from many, and yawns from those others who slumped to the polls...



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In place of challenging thought was the opinion poll, whose results proved to us that our opinions were far less interesting than our purchases.

Elsewhere, whole peoples attempted to regain control over their societies. In America, we watched on TV as those crowds clambered onto walls...

Only up There, in a sort of capitalist heaven, was there dynamism, challenge, heroism and glory, for There was the abode of gigantic corporations which drove everything, including language, before them. Leveraged, megamerged, globalizing, em-

ploying inconceivable sums of money and making unimaginable use of science and technology, they created entities of unparalleled size, glued together in grotesquely original ways. The efficiencies of a global marketplace seemed at hand...

The Product

Whatever the sphere, The Product was now promoted as a Global Concept, and a new-style media conglomerate was there to do the promoting. Into these black holes of expanding media capital were sucked pre-

viously disparate categories of culture—high and low, mainstream and avant-garde. The actor, the writer, the film-maker, the adman, the musician and the cartoon character were brought under one roof to create the book/film/TV show/theme-park ride/journalistic puff-piece/videotape/T-shirt. In the new media empire, energy flowed into the creation of the craze, which both was the product and could promote...

The tiny group of men who "ran" these suprahuman organizations came to assume that they owned the means of describing the world (as they increasingly did); and the

only public left—the buying one—bought the prerogatives of ownership they were peddling in a way seldom before seen...

During those years, I worked as an editor at Pantheon Books, a small publishing house founded in 1942 by European exiles in flight from Hitler...In 1961...[Pantheon] was bought by Bennett Cerf's Random House...Lodged in this vast corporate enterprise [of RCA, which bought Random House in 1967], it outlasted the hostile '80s (if only by days) while regularly nurturing books with a critical spirit.

The uproar that followed [new Random House Chairman Alberto Vitale's decision to close Pantheon in 1990] was of interest partly because it displayed a decade's worth of code words, phrases proven to reduce all issues to the narrowest conception of what might be profitable, what might be valuable.

"Fiscal responsibility" was the only imaginable responsibility; the "bottom line" the only line anyone could draw...In such a world in which a few corporate entities have bought up almost all major book companies, magazines and newspapers, TV stations, cable networks, satellite systems, record companies, computer software firms and home video distribution chains; in which they control movie production companies and movie theaters...in which they commandeer global ad agencies and publicity firms—that is, all forms of language production, including the dictionaries in which words are housed—naming and dreaming cannot be separated from a consideration of the phenomenon of globalization.

When naming is lost to us, it's hard to see its loss, and when dreaming is not ours, no one can tell what dreams we might have had.

Rectifying the Names

In traditional China, it was believed that dynasties fell, in part, because of a disastrous disparity between names and the things named...

In our world, The Greatest Story Ever

Told proved to be a cautionary tale that played successfully for more than 70 years... Fanatical believers in the possibility of a communal paradise on Earth seized whole impoverished nations, subjecting millions of people to the experience of an underfinanced, overpoliced heaven-on-Earth. These gulag-lands, these evil empires, threatened our world with a similar fate, were we ever to drop the eternal vigilance recommended by our storytellers.

This never-ending story ended unpredictably [in 1989]. After initial fluster and hesitation, most of our storytellers hailed its collapse not just as our triumph, but as the triumph of Reality itself—even as an “end to history.” And what that end to history seemed to mean was a world without stories, without the disastrous dreamers and visionaries of the last two centuries—a world in which every movement would henceforth be to the rational, global pulse of the market.

Giant Structures

Though capitalism has always been to some degree synonymous with the transnational, the globalizing capitalism of our time is remarkable for the size of its “integrated” transnational structures, for the command-and-control technologies that go with them and for its grasp over our reality, which is remarkably recent...

If you open a dictionary from the 1960s, between “bottomless...” and “bottom-most...” there is nothing. Only in the next decade does “bottom line,” that paradigmatic phrase of our period, appear... By the end of the 1980s the bottom line as the ultimate in realism was so embedded in the language that its mention acted totemically to cut off further discussion...

It is no happenstance that the reach-out-and-touch-that-concrete crowd celebrating atop the Berlin Wall became an instant AT&T ad; that McGlasnostland should be the site of a McDonald's ad...

After all, a great triumph was being celebrated, and it was neither the End of the Cold War (in Adland, a Drixoral cold medication tagline: “May the only cold war in the world be the one being fought by us”), nor VR Day for America, but the triumph of a new corporatist globalism over the global pretenses of either former superpower.

Our media dream-makers suddenly found themselves oppositionless in a world in which the rational pulse of reality had an increasingly alluring beat to it. All that was

left to do, it seemed, was reach into one's corporate pocket and... begin buying percentages of ownership in the Eastern European Party press...

Marketeers found themselves dreaming not so much of a world freed of national boundaries as of a Baltic Market, an Estonian Free State, a Prague Duty-free Trade Zone, and so on...

Limits of Globalization

Of course, globalization had its limits, not the least of which was that no one truly meant *global*. When the bottom line was drawn under the potential demographic purchasing units of the movement, whole realms of nonpurchasers ceased to exist on

market, an all-encompassing hypermall in which One Brand/One Product Line/One Video/One Promo is brought directly to the feeding grounds of the One Global Consumer. Individual eccentricities, habits and resistances, local tastes and oddball desires, as well as eco-catastrophe (unless translated into biodegradable product), poverty and Third World debt are banished.

These capitalist dreamers have their hands on enough “reality” in the form of organization and capital, and face a landscape emptied enough of opposition, to act as if the world were no more than a potential theme park for capitalism. In fact, the explosive growth of theme park and mall in the last decade reflects this larger desire to

*When naming is lost to us, it's hard to see its loss,
and when dreaming is not ours, no one can tell
what dreams we might have had.*

Tom Engelhardt

a national level... There was no longer even a half-convincing language of hope available to those unable to purchase that Pepsi in Madonna's hand, and the video of her songs, and the clothes she wore...

Reality, as offered up by the global triageur, takes the form of the ad, whose language is that of exclusion, reduction and control. The ad limits reality to its own specifications, and then expends its efforts convincing us that it, like the product it enhances, is the Real Thing. How much more convincing this performance is now that ad and product can cycle through a multiplicity of “real” forms linked by ownership: film, cassette, book, theme park, television, video and on and on. For the first time, this makes the mission of the ad—to colonize every imaginable space in our lives—seem achievable...

Rather than being the proprietors of reality, today's global capitalists are our greatest inventors of fiction, and we live amidst the most extravagant of their utopian dreams... In their utopia one finds a specific form of triumphant earthbound paradise, limited to The Product and most easily expressed by the slogan: One Brand/One World: One Movie/One World: One Channel/One World: One Book/One World: One Newspaper/One World.

All “fat” has been surgically removed from this dream of a single transglobal

meld selling and entertaining into a single controlled environment from which all unsightly reality has been erased. In Disneyworld, whether in Paris, Tokyo or Orlando, in Universal Studios, whether the Florida or Hollywood versions, we do, in fact become the One [infantilized] Consumer in a world where One Taste Is All...

The particular danger of utopian capitalist dreaming is not that the dreams will come to synergistic fruition, though obviously world brands, movies, ads, and books will continue to come into being. A world armed to the teeth, embracing Iran-Iraq-style wars, a level of maldistribution of wealth unparalleled in history, and future Chernobyls (chemical as well as nuclear) will not, in any lifetime we can look forward to, become One Market, a vast boutique land for a barely distinguishable mass of consumers. The danger is that these dreamers have granted themselves the right to fail on the grandest scale; and, before such globalizing dreams begin to fail on their own terms, they will have changed the institutional structure of human life...

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OUT OF AFRICA!

Western Media Stereotypes Shape World's Portrait

By Ezekiel Makunike

As a graduate student just arrived from Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) to study journalism at Syracuse University in 1968-9, I developed the habit of scanning the local papers for news from my home continent.

It was a pretty futile search. I was increasingly dismayed at the near-total lack of news from any part of Africa being presented to Syracuse readers. I also soon discovered that the little African news that occasionally found the light of day and trickled into the *Syracuse Herald and Journal* was almost always negative. This inspired me to spend some of my free time embarking on a more serious investigation of news selection.

I requested permission from the news departments of those two daily newspapers to glean through their wastepaper baskets for telex sheets from wire services containing stories transmitted from Africa. I conducted this search for most of an entire week. While indeed not much was offered by the news services, I was nevertheless surprised to find that much of the little that came in was either "killed" or simply spiked for a more suitable publication date that never came.

When I asked an editor to explain these decisions, he told me that stories on Africa are routinely ignored because of a presumed lack of reader interest.

"You see," he told me, "America does not know Africa well. It never had a colony on that continent. Thus, unless the story has a strong human interest potential, there is no point using it, since no one will read it."

Of course, the editor was both creating a self-fulfilling prophecy and ignoring an obvious fact. The prophecy was simple: White Americans would never become

aware of Africa unless they could learn enough about it to be interested, a process the media has a lot to do with.

American Colonialism

The fact, at once more complicated and highly relevant to contemporary events, was this: American colonialism against Africans was practiced in the American South in the form of hundreds of years of slavery and second-class citizenship. At the time—the late '60s—millions of descendants of those slaves—approximately 11.1 percent of the U.S. population at the time—were beginning to rediscover their

African roots. Many of them were (and are still) highly interested in events in Africa. Their history and African background has much to do with current events in the U. S.

The 1960s period of my study also coincided with the height of Cold War politics, with the United States then heavily involved in the Vietnam War. Africa was not of the highest concern in the super-power politics of the time. Yet, news from Africa seemed essential to forming a complete picture of important happenings in the world, and this was lacking.

About the same time, a lengthy newspaper account of an official visit to Africa by

Chou En-Lai, then prime minister of the People's Republic of China, appeared in a major paper. The Chinese had promised technical assistance for the construction of a railway line between central Zambia and the Tanzanian seaport of Dar es Salaam, on the Indian Ocean in Southeast Africa. It read something like this:

"Communist China has promised to build a railway line from the black-ruled and land-locked Republic of Zambia to the port of Dar es Salaam, capital of socialist Tanzania. This is meant to reduce dependency on trade routes with and through their southern neighbors, white-ruled Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. The two black-ruled African countries train and harbor terrorists fighting to overthrow these white-ruled governments."

The implication was that Tanzania and Zambia were being taken for a ride because China didn't possess the necessary technology to execute such a feat of engineering. The promise was seen as simply an example of



COURTESY MARYKNOLL MISSIONERS/WHEATER

Communist propaganda.

A few years later, after I had returned to Africa and become the director of the Pan-African journalism institute, the Africa Literature Center in Kitwe, Zambia, I was reminded of this conclusion. My journalism students and I attended the inaugural ceremony of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway Line (Tan Zam Railway). We actually were passengers on the initial trip of this "will never-be-built" line, riding safely for over 1,000 kilometers from Kapiri M'poshi near Kabwe in central Zambia to the sea-side in Dar es Salaam. With the help of the "technically backward" Communist Chinese, the feat had actually been completed well ahead of schedule!

Influenced first by colonialism and then by Cold War politics, this contemptuous tone has long shaped and fashioned Western media perceptions of Africa. As I learned very quickly in the U.S., for American readers or viewers to be interested, news out of Africa must be negative. It must

conform to the traditional stereotypes in its spot-light on grotesque and sensational events. It must show misery, corruption, mismanagement, starvation, primitive sur-

lieved and unused. Little wonder they learn to toe the expected line.

This dynamic explains why the life of Africa's varied and diverse countries is

In Somalia and elsewhere, news reports show white people feeding black people. You never see Africans helping themselves.

roundings and, as in the case of Somalia, chaos and outright anarchy.

Foreign correspondents in African capitals and their superiors in the media gate-keeping chain seem to have these perceptions ingrained in them. From newsgathering in Africa to publication and broadcast thousands of miles away, stories about Africa are looked at with these negative lenses. Even more unfortunately, reporters and editors with a broader vision run the risk of having their stories disbe-

missing. We hear about famines and coups, but not the rejuvenation of its cities and the cultural vitality of its village life...about oppression and massacres, but not education, economic self-help and political development...about poaching and habitat destruction, but not ongoing active efforts at conservation, reforestation and environmental awareness.

Most telling of all, in Somalia and elsewhere, news reports show outside white people feeding and helping black people.

Re:Action

Guidelines for Process Reporting

Development-oriented journalism need not always accentuate the positive, says communication director Phil Harris, director of training and communication studies, InterPress Service (IPS), but it shouldn't accentuate the negative either.

"Coverage of human-interest development reveals the reality of rural life, the grime, the injustice, the squalor as well as the success stories.

"Development journalists have often been told: don't touch coups, earthquakes and disasters," because such negative stories are the territory of event-oriented Northern hemisphere wire services.

"This is nonsense. Coups have to be touched—better still, predicted. The task of the journalist should be to report the processes, the common citizen's gripes which feed the collective national frustrations that periodically erupt in military mutinies. Development reporting is also writing about earthquakes and floods and typhoons, kneeling down to the human level of the tragedies—the casualty patterns of floods in Bangladesh that wash away the landless who settled in danger zones because they had nowhere else to

live, or the deadly landslides in Nepal caused by tree-cutting higher up in the mountains.

"Development is about change. People, societies, value systems and even landscapes evolve. The small things have to be woven into a larger pattern. As snakes disappear, so do the charmers."

As communications director of the International Press Service, a worldwide alternative news service, Harris recommends what he calls "process-oriented reporting" in which precedence is given not so much to events in themselves as to the chain of situations which precedes and follows (and thus helps explain) them.

The IPS style involves a conscious effort to avoid the sensationalism and negativism that marks much traditional reporting of Third World issues. But that doesn't mean that problems are ignored.

He advises journalists interested in going beyond the traditional superficial reporting of projects and developments to visit sites, talk with officials, go through evaluation reports "and, above all, listen to the people whom the projects are intended to benefit."

Questions for readers and listeners who want to evaluate the reporting they see

and hear include:

- Are the basic physical needs of the people involved being met?
- Are their social, cultural, political and intellectual rights being protected? (Especially the rights and needs of women, children and minorities.)
- Are agricultural, industrial and other activities carried on in such a way as to ensure a livable physical and economic environment for future generations (sustainable development).

These questions may seem abstract, but they involve such basic issues as how the starving feed themselves when aid programs end, how refugees will be cared for and where they will go when the war is over, how relocated villagers will adjust to urban life and its pressures and how to promote feasible alternatives to deforestation and environmental destruction.

—From a paper presented by Phil Harris at the Youth for Development and Cooperation Conference, London, December 1991. Development reporting suggestions adapted from *Against All Odds: Breaking the Poverty Trap*, Panos Institute.

They never show black people helping themselves.

As a journalist I understand that "news" is still defined as a usually negative departure from the norm. I also recognize that in the eternal media race for larger circulations and higher ratings, profits and the bottom line dominate concerns about values and ethics.

As in Somalia, the "hit-and-run" mentality of Western media makes it easy to briefly light up trouble spots, while the years of exploitation and deterioration that produced them are left in the dark. The "here today, gone tomorrow" nature of much

international reporting, with star newsmen briefly crowding each other at media feeding troughs, then jetting on to the next venue, doesn't help.

By definition such journalists know little of the language and less of the cultures they cover. They certainly never appreciate the subtleties and nuances of local history and interactions that take years to learn. They are neither accustomed nor equipped to observe, understand or explain develop-

mental situations that may change slowly over time.

As a Zimbabwean, my observations are necessarily "out of Africa." But these observations of Western media shortcomings could be applied to many parts of the developing world. Admittedly, the negative patterns of coverage I've described were often conditioned by colonialism and Cold War politics. Unfortunately, they reinforced a pattern of ignorance and distortion that has not

changed with the changing political systems. In the case of this news blackout at least, Africa is still a dark continent.

One editor provided me with a survey of readers of his newspaper that in fact showed that regular readership of local, national, international and regional news was well ahead of Dear Abby and the comics. This newspaper carried one of the smallest amounts of international news among those examined.

Amos Yoder with Jukeria Wani, *The News Media and One World*

Cameras and Guns in Somalia: A Case Study

The Marines have landed...and the media beat them ashore!

The cameras, lighting and hordes of reporters that greeted the beachhead launched during the U.S. "invasion" of Somalia presents a case study of the way media influence can mold and distort the events in any area defined as an international hot spot. As in other situations worldwide, media influence didn't begin there.

No one can doubt that Somalia has been in a state of anarchy for nearly two years now. Clan rivalry and fighting has been the order of the day. But Western media attention accentuated this clan rivalry instead of abating it. For the first time, in the Western media, the leaders of opposing clans were described as "warlords!" Naturally, human nature responds to the expectations of the public. With this advance billing, each had to behave as a warlord, a role which led to certain conditions.

A warlord must maintain his status as a victor at all costs to stay in power. In assuming these roles, both sides hardened and became resistant to talking peace. Life-sustaining interaction gave way to life-destroying aggression. Food became scarce, and whatever relief supplies arrived from outside became the object of violent and brutal conflict. Guns, on the other hand, became more plentiful and were even sold

on the open market.

The media also failed to mention the West's own role in this economic and social collapse. During the heyday of Cold War polarization, Somalia was at various times the darling of both superpowers, shifting sides as the political winds and changes in foreign aid policies dictated. The Soviet Union and later the United States, poured massive destructive hardware into this impoverished African country with the aim of arming its "friend" against its "enemy."

Not surprisingly, these weapons became the seeds of the country's destruction instead of a means of encouraging sustainable development. Today Somalia stands as the ugly legacy of exploitation and the neglect that happens when a former ally is no longer able to contribute to Western interests.

In Somalia, the situation got out of hand. Hundreds and thousands of defenseless people, especially women and children, starved to death. Famine has often been ignored, but this time the Western media were there in powerful plenty! Color magazines and television screens graphically and expertly showed famished faces and moving skeletons.

Readers and viewers were shown a daily diet of motionless human beings too weak even to remove flies from their mouths and

noses. Morbid scenes they truly were, but the Western media was bent on telling its readers and viewers that "This is what Africa is!" After Somalia's human worth had been reduced to near zero, the Western countries felt satisfied, though belatedly, that the ravaged country now qualified for their spirited economic and military assistance.

It would appear that the Western media are not oriented toward defusing potentially explosive situations, but are instead better equipped with the skills to fan and explode them. When the two main so-called "warlords" were face to face in January 1993 at the start of the American-led and armed "Operation Restore Hope" the emotional manner in which they met, embraced and smiled at each other left me and many others wishing that the media had done more to bring them together before their rivalry destroyed and debilitated their country. More lives could have been saved and perhaps the world could have been spared a major tragedy.

A former Director of Information in the government of Zimbabwe, Ezekiel Makunike is a journalist and teacher. He is currently completing an assignment as a senior staff writer for New World, the mission magazine of the United Methodist Church.

Disaster Pornography From Somalia

By Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal

In the vanguard of the Marines, the press corps had already stormed Somalia. Now we will see more of the familiar pictures of grotesque human degradation, with foreign angels of mercy ministering to starving children, juxtaposed with images of trigger-happy teenage looters. Such pictures prompted President Bush's military adventure—now they will justify it.

The camera can't lie, we are told. But anyone who has watched a Western film crew in an African famine will know just

how much effort it takes to compose the "right" image. Photogenic starving children are hard to find, even in Somalia.

Somali doctors and nurses have expressed shock at the conduct of film crews in hospitals. They rush through crowded corridors, leaping over stretchers, dashing to film the agony before it passes. They hold bedside vigils to record the moment of death. When the Italian actress Sophia Loren visited Somalia, the *paparazzi* trampled on children as they scrambled to

film her feeding a little girl—three times. This is disaster pornography.

Reduced to nameless extras in the shadows behind Western aid workers or disaster tourists, the grieving, hurting and humiliated human beings are not asked if they want to be portrayed in this degrading way.

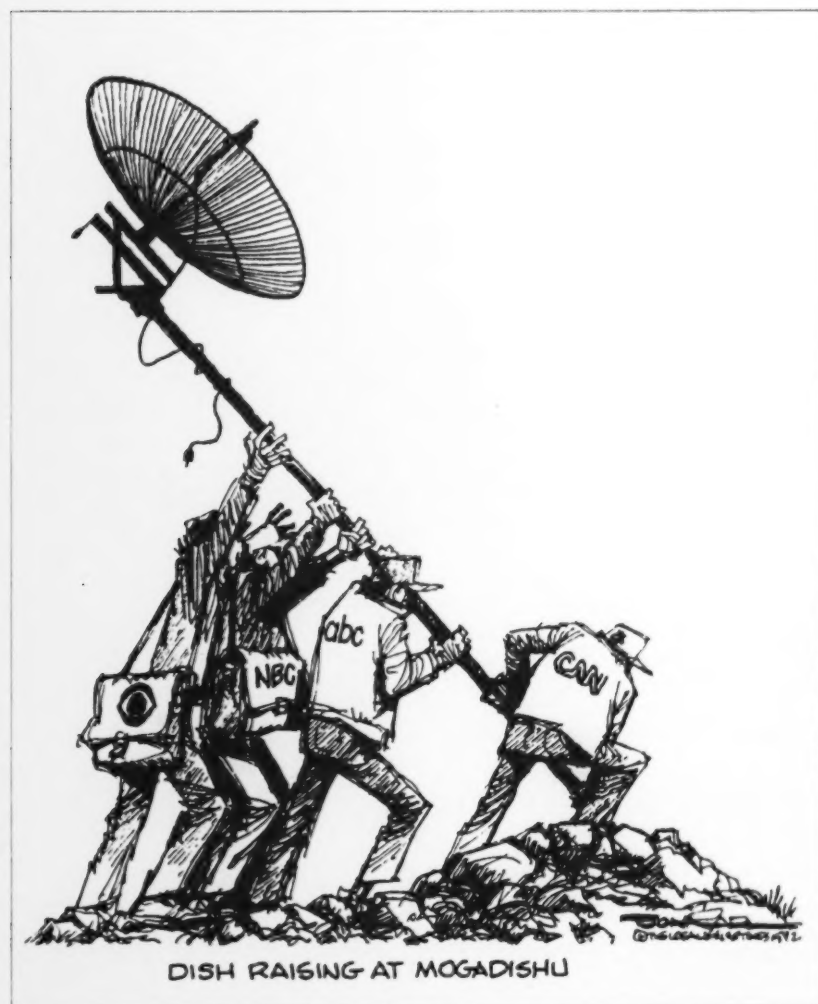
Do pictures of Somalia show herdsmen tending large flocks of well-fed camels, or farmers cultivating ripening crops of sorghum and maize? Do they show vegetable markets flourishing in Mogadishu? Are we allowed to see clan elders negotiating a local cease fire, or the women who have turned their homes over to orphanages, filled with the laughter of healthy children? All these are just as much facets of life in Somalia today as looting and starvation, but they are not what we are shown.

The truth is that, even in the areas of the country stricken by famine, outright starvation is the exception. Most deaths are the result of disease. The great majority of people will survive—largely due to their own efforts. International food aid is much less important than food grown by local farmers, the maintenance of animal herds, having roots and berries to eat and charity of relatives and friends.

The most respectable excuse for selectively presenting images of starvation is that this is necessary to elicit our charity. But famine relief experts concur that the total impact of our charitable giving is less than what can be achieved if the stricken people are enabled to help themselves.

If "Operation Restore Hope" is to live up to its name, first it must restore humanity, self-respect and dignity to the Somali people. This cannot be done while the press corps makes disaster pornography pass for a true portrait of the Somali nation. No more, please.

Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal are co-directors of African Rights, a new human rights organization based in London. This piece originally appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*. It is reprinted with permission of the authors.



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THE PARADOX OF COMMUNICATION:

New Channels Needed To Reflect Interdependence

By Phil Harris

Many have argued that the end of the arms race could release immense funds for social cooperation and development, that the vast sums spent on the building up of arsenals during the Cold War could be used to combat social ills in the countries of the South such as poverty, hunger, homelessness and unemployment, and to achieve stable socioeconomic development.

The paradox is that all the signs appear to demonstrate that the Third World is becoming even more marginalized, a situation that makes it all the more urgent to address Third World development needs as a number one priority to reduce the disparities between rich and poor states. The fundamental problems still remain and are, in fact, worsening.

The central importance of communication in this process of promoting the autonomous role of Third World societies in the international arena is all the more evident as the 20th Century moves [through] its final decade, as new information technologies have become increasingly central

components in the conduct of world trade relations, international finance, agricultural production techniques, climatic early warning systems and so on.

It is important to put the stress on communication, because we have to move beyond the era of "information as news." In

Information and communication are not synonyms. The information process is vertical—a top-down process in which those who own or control media instruments and channels "inform" others.

Communication is by definition a horizontal process, an interchange between

The average North American consumes more newsprint in four days than the average African does in one year... In 36 countries of the world, there are fewer than 10 television receivers per 1,000 people.'

Howard Frederick, *Global Communications and International Relations*

today's increasingly interdependent world, citizens need much more individualized information to understand the complex reality that surrounds them, and this is something that goes beyond the reach or even competence of the news media per se. The demand is for communication.

persons and groups in full respect of different social, political, economic or cultural status.

In the world inhabited by we journalists, information is news, a product of the vertical relation between messagemaker and message receiver. Communication is essentially about dialogue, about horizontal interaction between individuals, groups, peoples and societies.

Television Taboos in Other Countries

- **Egypt**—sex; anything more than a little kiss.
- **Poland**—criticism of the Catholic Church; open discussion of sex.
- **Hong Kong**—obscene or vulgar language.
- **Iran**—women without their heads, arms and legs covered; drinking.
- **Brazil**—explicit sex and violence during prime time; references to governmental repression.
- **Mexico**—criticism of the government.
- **Thailand**—anything remotely critical of the royal family.
- **Japan**—criticism of the Imperial Family or religious sects.
- **Turkey**—ethnic problems.
- **Indonesia**—anything offending religious sensibilities.
- **South Africa**—any reference to Jesus Christ; all expletives containing the word "God," including "oh, God."

—From "Tuning in the Global Village," Los Angeles Times.

Right of Expression

But people everywhere have the right to receive broad-based multisourced information, at the same time as they have the right to be able to communicate with others on a basis of equality. Individuals also have the right to freely express their views and opinions provided the exercise of this right does not impede the exercise of the same right by others.

The problem is that such a process is rendered at best difficult, at worst impossible, if adequate channels are not available to make one's views known. Part of the challenge, therefore, is to multiply the channels—the other part is to get the focus right.

In a sense, a major thrust of the New

International Information Order (NIIO) debate of the 1970s was a call for recognition of the Third World's right to have its own channels of information and not have to rely on being "filtered" through metropolitan centers in the former colonial powers. That is a call that today still remains largely unmet.

At the same time, though it never received much public attention, the NIIO debate was also about opening up channels of communication to issues and sectors that never—or rarely—showed up in the traditional media.

Mixed Picture

New communication technologies open up many opportunities, but the news is not necessarily good. On the one hand, the ever-more sophisticated technologies hold out the prospects of further centralization of power in the industrialized centers of the

world. On the other, public information systems (by and large the mass media) are still not geared toward providing services which really "explain" this developing reality.

The paradox is that in an era in which global interdependence is coming to be

...Optimistically, new communication technologies [can] ultimately produce a...system that can provide access for everyone everywhere to vast stores of information.

Leonard R. Sussman, Freedom House

recognized as a fundamental fact of life at the political level, at the public level the quality of information being provided by the traditional mass media is not up to the task of explaining it.

What is called for in today's rapidly

changing—and deteriorating—world is a communication environment supportive of global human security. That is a fundamental concept that goes well beyond purely militaristic definitions of security and places the emphasis on the well being of society at all levels. It is not just a question of reduc-

ing the threat of armed belligerence but of how we go about satisfying basic societal needs such as food, clothing, housing, education, health care and so on.

New World?

If a "new world order" is to mean anything, it must give priority to the human being and people's welfare, since crisis in society or between societies is a crisis of collective security. Peace is not just a question of the absence of war or armed aggression. Peace is a question of human security and, in an interdependent world, a question therefore of global human security that does away with the glaring differences between North and South.

The developing countries stand to lose heavily if North-South economic imbalances are not adjusted. But progress in political detente has not seen its counterpart in economic entente. While the developing world is opening its doors to global integration, the developed countries are not reciprocating and are erecting ever greater protectionist barriers that penalize the already struggling economies of the South.

Communication is the key to promoting a vigorous dialogue between the Third World and the industrialized countries on global economic issues such as debt and the environment, to put an end to the crisis of development and to help narrow the rift that separates the two hemispheres.

Phil Harris is director of training and communication studies for the InterPress Service (IPS), a worldwide alternative news service. This article was excerpted from a paper presented at the Youth for Development and Cooperation conference in London in December 1991. Reprinted with permission.

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COMMUNICATING FOR JUSTICE:

Document Articulates Right to Communicate

Ed. Note: Development and reform of global communications have been a continuing focus of mainline religious groups worldwide during the past decade. Led by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), a values-based international communication and development organization, the issue has been discussed at WACC-sponsored international conferences in the Caribbean, the Philippines, Nairobi, Brazil and elsewhere. Now the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. has continued the discussion with Global Communication for Justice and Peace, a major policy statement to guide discussion and action in its member churches. Issued in December 1992, the document provides an ethical framework for establishing the right to communicate as a basic human right. We are pleased to publish the following version, edited slightly for space and publication requirements, in order to further the dialogue on this emerging global issue.

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA is seeking to help define and create the conditions for a just world order. As a new millennium approaches, we have a unique opportunity to replace the Cold War animosities that have dominated our lives with a more humane international community. But instead of a new world of peace and justice, we see unleashing of racial and ethnic violence everywhere: in the Sudan and India, the Middle East and South Africa. Multi-ethnic conflicts take place in Los Angeles and in Serbia, where the chilling practice of

"ethnic cleansing" is practiced. The breakdown of communication threatens our hopes for peace on earth.

Communication is basic to community. The right to communicate is a basic human right. The right to receive and to provide information is as fundamental to the quality of life as food, clothing, and shelter. The

sponsible for the functioning of communication in society. Christians, as citizens, have an obligation to exert whatever influence they can to insure that the mass media operate to serve the public good, rather than simply the interests of individuals. With humility, however, Christians should recognize the difficulties and dilemmas that are present. The tensions and polarities of some realities do not lend themselves to easy answers or solutions. For example, the right of all ethnic and minority people of a nation to speak is sometimes in tension with the goal of national unity.

Media technologies have great potential to bind the world together, when not beholden entirely to transnational commercial interests. Media need not divide peoples and cultures. Media can make it possible for persons, communities and nations to participate fully in their own cultures as well as in shared world meanings and values. Media can enable people to participate in their community and national life. Television, radio, newspapers and film are powerful resources for education, promotion of health and other aspects of development. Media can offer an excellent source of information and a forum

for dialogue and debate about the fulfillment of life. But they will not do so if left unchallenged.

We recognize that often religious organizations and individuals

have been guilty of failing to use the communication media for the public welfare. Sometimes religious groups have put their institutional self-interest above the public interest. Too often they have failed to give serious attention to the forces which

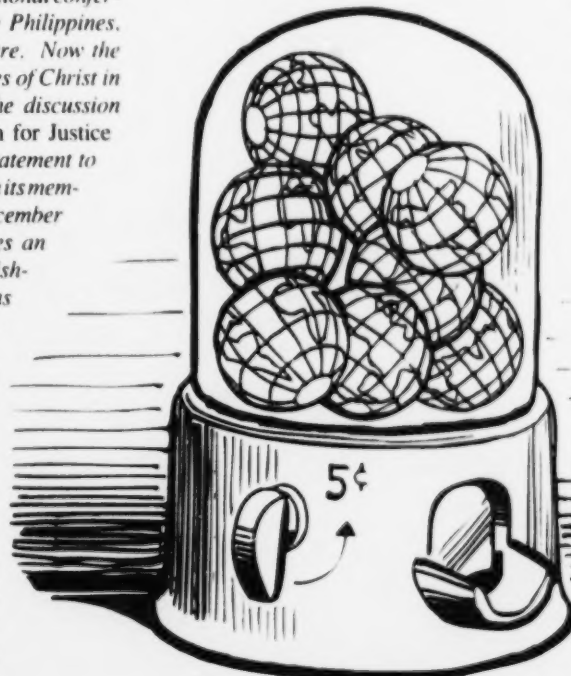


ILLUSTRATION BY DAVID SUTER/THE PROGRESSIVE

Communication is basic to community. The right to communicate is a basic human right. The right to receive and to provide information is as fundamental to the quality of life as food, clothing and shelter.

right to communicate is essential to human dignity. It is a precondition of a just and democratic society. It is necessary if ever peace is to be achieved.

But every right brings with it responsibilities, and the whole community is re-

constrain the press and other communication media, and often have sought simply to put forward their own special interests. They have not challenged the use of communication as a cultural force to support the powerful and to victimize the powerless. They have ignored the use of communication by Western societies as a tool for the domination of other nations.

This policy statement addresses issues of global communication and justice. It suggests steps churches may take to provide alternatives to the increasing centralization of control, ownership and the politicizing of world media by a few transnational media giants....

A New Challenge

Citizens of developed and developing nations alike live in a global information society where information is a commodity that has rapidly replaced control of natural resources, capital and industrial might as an important determinant of global power. Traditional arbiters and purveyors of culture, including governmental, religious,

communication and thus from much control over our cultural and economic lives. Control has been transferred, in large part, to those with technical expertise who serve the interests of the mercantile and the military.

As churches we claim that we are on the side of the social, cultural, economic and spiritual development of all peoples. But we have not always recognized that such development is necessarily based on a strong

media. The media play an ever more important role in political campaigns, the overthrow and creation of governments and in the way wars are planned, fought and interpreted. The media shape our consciousness and our quest for the meaning of life. Several international journalistic and media organizations have their own codes of ethics.

These most often stress the right to know, objectivity and reporting and the freedom

Media have not challenged the use of communication as a cultural force to support the powerful and victimize the powerless.

cultural identity and autonomy through which peoples define themselves, their situations and their needs. Today there is an erosion of dynamic culture alive to its own needs and true to itself. While traditional modes of communication tend to enable development based on cultural autonomy, mass communication does not. People in

of journalists to communicate without restrictions....

Modern media technologies offer unprecedented opportunities for the exchange of information between peoples and nations. Unfortunately, however, most of the people of the world do not share in the real benefits of these technologies. They are often victimized rather than assisted by the way in which information is controlled and often distorted by the developed nations. Great inequities exist in the distribution of news and information among nations. The problem is not limited to the quantity of communications media available for use by the developing world. Equally significant is the quality of information that is offered. Developing countries rarely have the chance to tell their own stories—others tell it for them. Their reality is not depicted fairly and is often laden with stereotypes. The information provided is not geared to their best interests, but tailored instead to the commercial

Journalists will be fully protected only when everyone's human rights are guaranteed.

MacBride Commission

educational and scientific organizations have lost much of their influence. Public discourse increasingly takes place around an agenda set by the media.

People in Manila, Santiago, Amman, Moscow and Minneapolis now have simultaneous access to the same images and interpretation of events. It is the nature of this kind of global communication to define and limit human prospects for successful common life. The media create and support an artificial transnational culture based on a selective vision which often ignores indigenous values and which affects the relations between nations and peoples throughout the world. The media thus chart the map by which we live our common life.

The global community now finds itself in an unrelenting process of transition from traditional communication, where face-to-face and oral interaction predominate, to modern top-down, one-way, technology-driven and media-based communication. New technologies and mass media have separated us from control over our own

every nation have become consumers of the values embodied in the entertainment and advertising supplied by their own or "foreign" societies.

The threat to certain aspects and value systems of these developed cultures is similar to that of less developed nations, for in both circumstances the social, political and cultural arenas of life are defined and debated in ways largely influenced by the

Report from Turkey: (No) Freedom of the Press

As we lay down on the ground, they started to beat us...with kicks, rifle butts, iron bars, wooden sticks, truncheons...When we told them we were journalists, showing our press cards and armbands, they severely swore at us. All our cameras, tape recorders, photo films, video cameras and other things were torn and broken.

They blamed us [for writing] news and articles against Turkey and security forces. In fact, it was an absolutely wrong claim. We have never written or reported such comments.

—From an account by Turkish journalist and editor Umit Öztürk of his experiences while covering the funeral of a slain member of the People's Labour Party in Southeastern Turkey. Öztürk, editor of the independent newspaper *Arkadas*, later sent his bloody shirt to the government representatives in protest.

needs of the West. Of course, within nations one group can impose its opinions on all others if it controls the media.

At the same time that mass communication has come to be more important to social and cultural processes, the media themselves are undergoing great change. Traditional definitions of media practices, such as the line between entertainment and news, have been blurred. Commitments to public service and obligation, once a part of the contract between the government, its citizens and the media industry, have been abrogated in the United States in favor of marketplace regulation. Concentration of

ownership of print and electronic media and the film industry has coincided with a powerful trend toward private ownership and commercialization in broadcasting. Where once public service traditions domi-

churches, we must ask ourselves what God is saying to us in an era when our means of communication are being so radically changed and transformed.

Western Christian theology places a high

Since wars begin in the minds of men (sic), it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.

Archibald MacLeish, preamble, UNESCO charter

Trampling Culture

'Cultural homogenization...has grown significantly more energetic in our century...Means have been devised that permit cultures to be trampled from a distance. In the years after the end of World War I, eyes and ears from Vancouver to Berlin to New Delhi began to turn from local entertainments and to fix themselves on Hollywood movies and Tin Pan Alley songs. Such innovations as television, stereo, satellites, computers, VCRs and CDs have brought more people under the spell.'

—From historian Mitchell Stephens,
"Pop Goes the World,"
Los Angeles Times Magazine.

.....

Canadian Content

The Broadcasting Act...requires that the Canadian broadcasting system should encourage the development of Canadian expression. Each element of the system is expected to contribute in an appropriate manner to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming and should make maximum use, and in no case less than predominant use, of Canadian creative and other resources...

—From Canadian Content Requirements,
Canadian Radio, Television and
Telecommunications Commission

nated in much of the developed and developing worlds, Western, specifically American, notions of commercialized private enterprise and deregulation are spreading. This trend, in both noncommercial and commercial media, has had two kinds of results.

First, our global media establishments are more and more driven by the needs and demands of world markets and less and less driven by national or cultural needs and interests. They have never adequately served the interests of the powerless at the peripheries: neither the masses who are dispossessed nor minority groups who have cultural, racial, creative and prophetic concerns. The global media increasingly represent the interests of powerful forces at the centers of political and economic activity, neglecting the concerns of churches and other institutions which advocate for alternative visions and futures.

The second result of these trends toward privatization has been a virtual elimination of any basis for global dialogue on issues of equity and justice in communication. For a brief period in history, there were influential public arenas where such issues could be addressed such as UNESCO, the International Telecommunications Union, etc. But in a totally commercialized world marketplace, such discussion is disappearing. Media will be viewed entirely as product and thus discussion will take place entirely within the realm of trade negotiations where issues of justice and equity are often ignored.

Spiritual Consequences

This transformation of communication has theological and spiritual consequences. As communication changes, our participation in life, spirituality, and the dimensions of meaning also changes. As Christians and as

value on individual consciousness, articulation and self-determination. It also places an equal emphasis on our corporateness and need for community. Today these processes largely take place in the media environment or are at least influenced by the media. Separation from the media environment is no longer possible. Thus the church has a critical interest in media structures, ownership, audiences and processes.

The churches of the world are a global communication system through which the voices of those rendered voiceless because they lack access to the media can be raised to question these trends. Churches are committed to development through empowerment, and empowerment through communication (both traditional and modern modes).

Churches have realized, often before others, that issues of justice in local and national development cannot be addressed without the tools and consciousness of the role of communication. Churches are in a unique position to undertake this cause. Few other institutions have the global networks, the commitments, the expertise, and the consciousness to take on the task.

The existing global web of communication—symbols, images, and pictures simultaneously transmitted into scenarios and sequences of events—catch and hold the lives of people everywhere. The web envelops people's perceptions and understanding and finally invades the innermost chambers of consciousness, deeply affecting spirit as well as life. The church is called to resist when any force subjugates the spirit, mind, will, and voice of people to the dictates of any worldly power....

For further information on the development of this statement, contact Intermedia, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 670, New York, NY 10115, (212) 870-2376.

BRAVE NEW WORLD

Right To Communicate Reshapes Human Connections

An Interview With Howard Frederick

The author of Global Communication and International Relations (see Resources, p. 23) and a lecturer in politics at the University of California/Irvine, Howard Frederick was formerly PeaceNet Director at the Institute for Global Communication in San Francisco. He also heads the International Communication Section of the International Association for Mass Communication Research and is a long-time communication activist.

M&V: Why should we be concerned about communication and human rights?

Frederick: As educators and communicators, practitioners and producers, scholars and activists, we are concerned about how new media technologies are affecting all aspects of life and culture. This is especially true when we look at how the human right to communication and information has evolved.

M&V: Why do you say evolved? Isn't it absolute and unconditional?

Frederick: Not really. If you look at history, there have been three stages of communication rights. The earliest was *freedom of opinion*. Guaranteed first in ancient Greece, finally won in the Age of Enlightenment, freedom of opinion is a prerequisite for true democracy. But the advent of the world's first mass medium, printing, showed that it was not enough simply to hold an opinion. The "Gutenberg revolutionaries" found themselves con-

tinually subject to censorship and repression when they tried to express their opinion on royal and religious doctrines. This led to *freedom of expression*, guaranteed for the first time in the English Bill of Rights. The "Fourth Estate," the press as an institution, continued to grow in influence. By 1789 the U.S. Constitution guaranteed a third communication and information right, *freedom of the press*.

M&V: It didn't stop there?

Frederick: It's important to remember that these freedoms were guaranteed in only a few countries during the 19th Century. Then came the world wars and all these rights were crushed by totalitarianism and war propaganda. But after World War II, the entire community of nations reaffirmed and enshrined these rights in the famous Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

M&V: Where do we stand now?

Frederick: Here we are, 45 years after the Universal Declaration. Vast changes have transformed the world from an agricultural and manufacturing society into a global information society. Communication is now so instantaneous that we speak of instant history and world public opinion. The struggle for true democracy has shown us that we need new channels of communication for *civil society*, that part of our lives that is neither market nor government but is so often overwhelmed by them. New technologies can decentralize and democratize communication flow, were it not for the media monopolies.

The problem is that the very powers that obstruct civil society at the local level—markets and governments—also control most of the world's communication flow. There is an increasing gap between the world's information rich and information poor populations. A handful of immense corporations dominate the world's

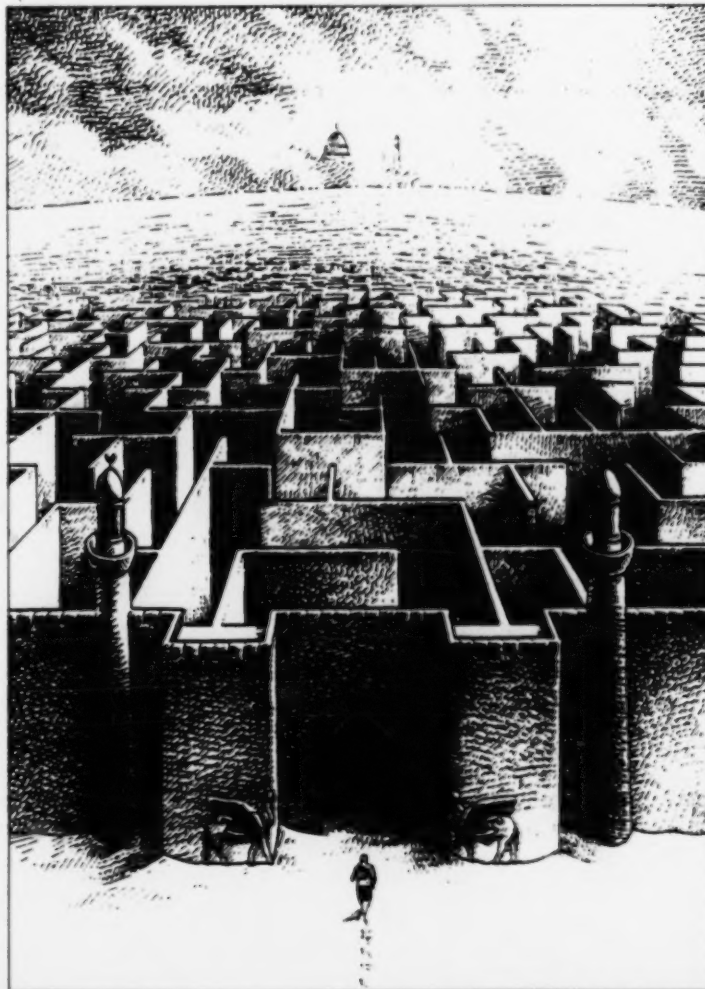


ILLUSTRATION BY TOM HERZBERG

'An agricultural expert calls male farmers in a developing country together to show them a design improvement for a low-tech farm tool. But the women who actually use the tool were not invited because they were busy in the field or with household tasks. Besides, the tool was designed for the larger physical stature of men.'

We see the same inappropriate low-tech fits for persons of small stature in [oversize] speaker's podiums, wall mirrors and commercial dispensers of all kinds, rolling stands for instructional TV sets and so on.'

—Ramona Rush, *Global Eco-Communications*



COURTESY INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S TRIBUNE CENTRE

media and exert a homogenizing influence over ideas, culture and commerce. Government monopolies still control a huge share of the world's airwaves and telecommunications flows. Markets and governments simply do not provide reliable and diversified information so essential to democracy.

M&V: *Doesn't the Universal Declaration protect people against monopolies?*

Frederick: Only partially. The right to communicate requires four components: (1) the opportunity to read and watch whatever is available (freedom of opinion), (2) the ability to express oneself freely (freedom of expression), (3) a diversity of sources to choose from (freedom of the press) and (4) media distribution channels that give the widest and most diverse segments of the population the ability to reach others. Article 19 safeguarded only the first three conditions. One crucial component is missing: *access to media channels*. But access is controlled everywhere by market and governmental monopolies. People must have resources to satisfy their compulsion to communicate in the practice of democracy. Those who wish to use the media channels should have fair and equitable access to them without discrimination so that they can take part in public affairs or exercise any other human right and fundamental freedom.

M&V: *Where did this idea come from and what kind of actions are being taken to make these rights more widespread?*

Frederick: Actually, the idea of the right to communicate originated here in the United States at the University of Hawaii in the 1960s and now has a considerable institutional history. Some of its supporters convene yearly in the "MacBride Roundtable," named after Sean MacBride, whose UNESCO commission studying global

M&V: *Tell us more about the MacBride Roundtable. Why are its actions important?*

Frederick: WACC helped organize the latest MacBride Roundtable in Brazil in August 1992. Former "cold war adversaries" Leonard Sussman (Freedom House) and Kaarle Nordenstreng (International Organization of Journalists) found themselves in agreement on the reasonable and balanced nature of the MacBride Report and its continued validity. UNESCO remains paralyzed because of U.S. withdrawal, Nordenstreng said, so the movement is shifting to citizens' organizations. Sussman stated his conviction that new communications technologies will ultimately produce a new information order with access for everyone.

Armando Rollemberg, current president of the International Organization of Journalists, acknowledged that many organizations in the former socialist bloc, including his own, were used by the USSR to defend state control of the media. One crucial mistake, Rollemberg noted, was not defending the free flow of communication through a plurality of communication systems worldwide.

M&V: *What is happening now on communication rights? What are you hoping for?*

Frederick: In 1993 we have the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, June

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 19, Universal Declaration on Human Rights

communication problems during 1976-1980 supported the right to communicate. Today's "MacBride Movement" is led by London-based World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). WACC's efforts can be seen in the National Council of Church's statement [published on page 16 in this issue of *Media & Values*. Here we see the premier organization representing 42 million American Protestant and Orthodox churches declaring that the right to communicate is a basic human right.

14-25, 1993), the first U.N. human rights conference in 25 years. The World Conference has been called to review the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to seek ways to improve it. I'm hoping that the "right to communicate" will be added to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Properly supported, the "right to communicate" can release us from a greater tyranny than any monarch's—the barriers that prevent human beings from communication with one another.



L ISTEN TO THE BEAT OF WORLD MUSIC

By Barbara Osborn

Music puts a face on a country in a way no news report ever can. Paul Simon's *Graceland* album, recorded in the mid-1980s with the South African *capella* group Ladysmith Black Mombazo, brought life in South Africa close to many North Americans for the first time. Music offers a life-affirming, human-scale introduction to others and ignites a desire to understand more about the people and culture who make it.

Graceland was early evidence of a new development in the music industry: World music. Go into any major record store today and you'll find that world music has become big business. Tahitian choirs, gypsy bands, African soukous, Jamaican reggae, and other international musical styles fill the racks. The recording industry trade magazine,

Billboard, now publishes a weekly chart of "world music" albums.

Meanwhile, more and more Western artists are being exported. Madonna and Michael Jackson are as popular abroad as they are in the U.S., and MTV distributes a mix of local and international music videos worldwide through a network that includes MTV Europe, Brazil, Latin America, Japan and Asia. Musicians around the world are exchanging ideas and using this cross-fertilization to develop hybrid musical styles.

Despite all the promise in these developments, there's a chance

that this globalization will turn out as one-sided as the Northern hemisphere dominance in exploitation of the world's resources. Led by six global-scale recording companies—Polygram, Thorne EMI, MCA, Sony, Time-Warner, and BMG, the "internationalization" of music could mean that other countries simply become markets for Western pop rather than players in a global music enterprise. As hybridization takes place, indigenous music may eventually become just another exotic rhythm in a homogenous world music driven by the record companies' promotion machines. Western musical acts have already become the standard by which performances around the globe are measured, and English has become world music's lingua franca.

Hopefully, the diversity of world music will not only survive but be enhanced by this globalization process, offering listeners around the world an even greater chance to use music as a point of entry to other cultures.

Barbara Osborn is a media literacy teacher, freelance journalist in Los Angeles and a contributing editor to Media&Values.

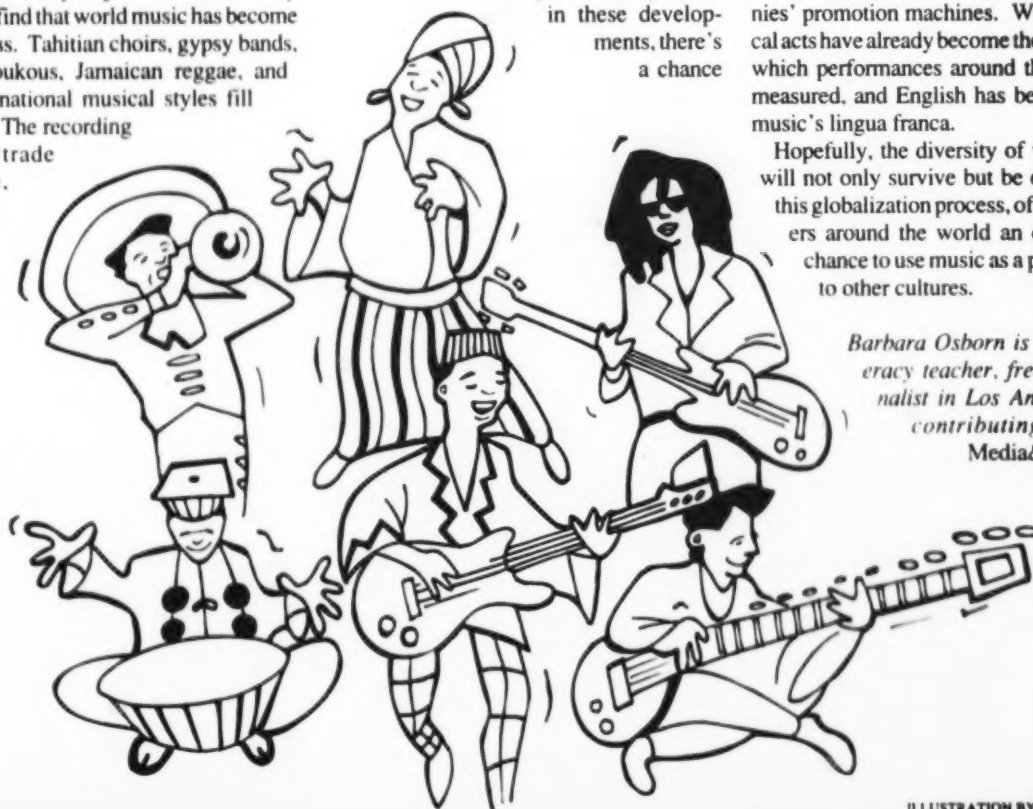


ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN SANTOS

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FOR DISCUSSION OR GROUP ACTIVITY.

REFLECTION RESOURCE

How To Make Musical Comparisons

Go through your collection of recordings or go to your local library or record store and choose a popular recording by an international artist. (If you don't follow pop music, choose a recording from *Billboard's* World Music Chart or ask for a recommendation from a salesperson at your local music store.)

Step 1:

Before you listen to the recording, look at the package.

- a) Who released the recording? Is it one of the small independent labels like Triloka or Shanachie? Or is it one of the six multinational recording companies? (The multinationals have many "labels." Time-Warner, for instance, owns not only Warner Bros., but also Elektra/Asylum/Nonesuch, Island, Sire, Reprise, and other labels. Look carefully. The packaging will note both the "label" and the "record company.")
- b) How well does the company present the music? Are lyrics enclosed? Are they translated? Is other information about the music or musicians included? Do they put the artist and music in a cultural context?
- c) If you worked at the record company, would you have included additional information to help listeners understand the musical style or culture?

Step 2:

Look at the cover design.

- a) What image or design is being used to represent/sell the music? Does it offer any useful information about the music or the culture that the music comes from?
- b) Consider what else you know about the artist through interviews, advertisements, music videos, etc. Do you know anything about how the artist or group has been sold?

Step 3:

Now listen to the recording.

- a) In what ways does the music sound like what you expected? How is it different? What aspects of the music surprise you?
- b) What language are the lyrics sung in? Is it the first language of the music?
- c) How does the music reflect or comment on life in its culture of origin?

Step 4:

Now that you've been introduced to this culture, be on the lookout for news of the country that it comes from. You may need to look beyond the nightly news or the local newspaper to find information. Try your library or local newsstand for publications that cover international news, and be sure to share your new interest with friends and family.

CENTER FOR MEDIA AND VALUES

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WATCH, READ, LISTEN

Resources for A Global Village

IN PRINT

Global Communications and International Relations by Howard Frederick examines the historical development of global communication in an international relations context (1993). Wadsworth, 7625 Empire Dr., Florence, KY 41042; (800)354-9706, \$20.25.

Culture, Inc.: The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression by Herbert Schiller explores the influence of 'big business' on American cultural life and expression (1989). Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016; (800)451-7556, \$9.95.

Video Night in Katmandu: And Other Reports From the Not-So-Far East by Pico Iyer investigates the impact of video in Third World countries (1988). Vintage Books/Random House, 400 Hahn Rd., Westminster, MD 21157; (800)733-3000, \$13.

Global Communication and Justice. Report of the Consultation on Global Communication and Justice (1989). Intermedia, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Dr., Rm. 670, New York, NY 10115; (212)870-2376, \$6.

Big Sounds from Little People: The Music Industry in Small Countries. Roger Wallis and Krister Malm, examines what happens to small music industries when giant transnational companies and electronic technology move in (1984). Constable and Co., 3 The Lancasters, 162 Fulham Palace Rd., London, England W6 8EN; (081)741-3663, £8.95.

Electronic Bulls and Bears: U.S. Securities Markets and Information Technology, a study of the history and impact of communications technology on the global economy (1990). U.S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, Washington, DC 20402-9325; (202)783-3238, \$10.

The Myth of the Information Revolution: Social and Ethical Implications of Communication Technology stresses the direct relationship between communication development and Third World economic necessities. By Michael

Traber (1986). Sage, 2455 Teller Rd., Newbury Park, CA 91320; (805)499-0721, \$16.95.

Press Freedom in Africa. Gunilla L. Faringer, looks at the history of press/government relations in Africa (1991). Praeger, 88 Post Rd. West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881; (203)226-3571, \$39.95.



The World News Prism: Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies. Third Edition, traces the growth of the global news network and the dissemination of news world-wide. By William A. Hachten (1992). Iowa State University Press, 2121 S. State Ave., Ames, Iowa 50010; (515)292-0140, \$17.95.

"World Press Review." This monthly publication excerpts articles from the press outside the U.S. to gain international perspective on issues. The Stanley Foundation, Box 1997, Marion, OH 43305; (212)889-5155, \$24.97/yr.

SIGHT/SOUND

Whose World View? examines the impact of North American media on the people and cultures of the Caribbean. 20 minutes (1989). Intermedia, National Council of Churches; \$15, see previous column for address.

Distress Signals: An Investigation of Global Television looks at how American television programs dominate the airwaves around the world. Contact National Film Board of Canada for further information, 55 minutes (1991).

National Film Board of Canada, First Run/Icarus, 153 Waverly Pl., New York, NY 10014; (800)876-1710, \$390 purchase, \$75 rental.

Consuming Hunger discusses how TV covers world hunger, three 30 min. videos (1988). Maryknoll World Productions, Media Relations, Maryknoll, NY 10545; (914)941-7590, \$39.95 purchase.

Export TV: Anatomy of an Electronic Invasion looks at the illegality and political implications of TV Marti, 25 min (1989). Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, New York, NY 10019; (800)723-5522, \$195 purchase, \$50 rental.

ORGANIZATIONS

World Association for Christian Communication funds and develops projects to encourage values in the world's communications. Publishes *Action* newsletter, £5 per year, or free with membership. Also available, *Few Voices, Many Worlds* by Michael Traber and Kaarle Nordenstreng discusses challenges to democratizing communications; £5, 357 Kennington Lane, London, SE11 5QY England; (01)582-9139. Membership U.S. \$30-\$100.

Connecting for Peace and Justice

Peacenet, and its sister networks, ConflictNet and EcoNet, are the world's first and only computer networks dedicated solely to environmental preservation, peace and human rights. Subscribers have access to news and information from around the world often not found on conventional news outlets. PeaceNet also provides users an opportunity to communicate instantly person-to-person across the globe. PeaceNet is a project of the Institute for Global Communications (IGC). For further information contact PeaceNet, 18 DeBoom Street, San Francisco, CA 94107; (415)442-0220.

MEDIA ARE THE WORLD

Media Literacy Is the Guidebook

By Elizabeth Thoman, Executive Director



We hear a lot about the population explosion these days, but here's one statistic you may not be familiar with.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, more than 1 billion television sets now beam their messages to the world's peoples. And that number has grown by 50 percent in only five years and is expected to grow by five percent annually. Asia, the world's population center, has the fastest growth rate.

Media&Values' last issue on international media, "Cultures Under Siege," published in Summer, 1985 made the statement: "The sun never sets on U.S. media influence."

That issue focused on the theme of "cultural imperialism" and explored how each television set, ad and billboard, pop song and video serves as an agent of cultural change, often replacing the lure of the shop window and the bonds of traditional community.

The concept of cultural imperialism is still important. But in the last seven years, significant changes in the world's access and use of media and computer technology challenge us to broaden our concerns about global communication:

- Revolutions have been started by FAX machine, wars have been fought in real time by satellite and empires have fallen because their economies failed to provide the material goods television presents in glittering abundance.

- Because of economic forces, world culture has especially embraced the young, dressing, as one commentator put it, the children of the Croats and the Serbs alike in the same "uniform" of jeans, T-shirts and sneakers and ensuring that "kids in Australia, Hong Kong and

Sweden have more in common with each other than their parents," according to MTV's Tom Freston.

- English has become the language of cultural commerce, not just between English-speaking countries and the rest of the world, but between non-English-speaking countries marketing cultural

If we are to build a world culture that respects the multi-diversity of the world's peoples, we must learn and teach others how to ask questions, challenge assumptions and seek out alternative views.

goods to each other. "If a Swedish group wants to sell its music in France, English is the language in which it must write its lyrics," according to author and historian Mitchell Stephens.

Not all of this traffic is one way. Other countries are beginning to market their media products to the U.S. and to each other. But note the key word is *product*. Today the operative words for evaluating not only television but music and theater and films and dance are not "talent" or "creativity" or "inspiration" but "will it sell?"

Now more than ever, all media, whether they come from the U.S. or any other country, must be subjected to the scrutiny of media literacy, itself a worldwide movement with active participation in over 40 countries.

Two principles of media literacy are particularly relevant: "Media are businesses with commercial interests" and "All media contain ideologies and value messages."

The owners of worldwide media know how to make money from their properties. And they transmit the values of Western, industrialized culture worldwide, without, in most cases, asking for a two-way exchange of ideas or values. To challenge that seems an impossible task. And yet if we are to build a world culture

that respects the multi-diversity of the world's peoples, we must learn and teach others how to ask questions, challenge assumptions and seek out alternative views.

The ideas and action suggestions in this issue of *Media&Values* and its accompanying Media Literacy Workshop Kit™ (see back cover) are designed to help each of us navigate more consciously in our global media world. We invite you to join the media literacy movement by joining the Center for Media and Values and using our resources in schools, churches/synagogues, community centers and anywhere that thoughtful people gather to grapple with issues and participate in change.

In a world that begs to be interconnected, our participation and understanding of worldwide media through media literacy is one exciting new way to contribute to the building of world peace, ethnic harmony and sustainability for all of humankind.

Media&Values More Than Just a Magazine.

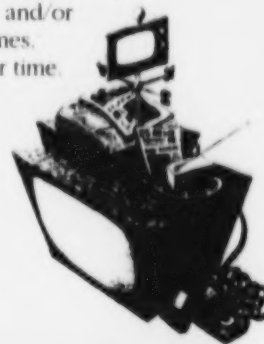
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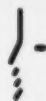
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